



The Philanthropist.

PUBLISHED BY THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE OHIO ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

JAMES G. BIRNEY AND

We are verily guilty concerning our brother *** therefore is this distress come upon us.

GAMALIEL BAILEY, Jr., Editors.

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CINCINNATI, OHIO, FRIDAY, JULY, 21, 1837.

WHOLE NO. 75.

THE PHILANTHROPIST,
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POETRY.

The following two stanzas are appended to Mr. Gallagher's beautiful poem, entitled "Cavallien," recently published in this city.

LAND OF THE WEST!—thine early prime
Fades in the flight of hurrying Time;
Thy noble forests fill, as sweep
Europa's myriads o'er the Deep;
And thy broad plains, with welcome warm,
Receive the onward-pressing swarm:
On mountain height, in lowly vale,
By quiet lake, or gliding river,—
Wherever sweep the chainless gale,
Onward sweep they, forever.
Oh, may they come with hearts that ne'er
Can bend a tyrant's chain to wear;
With souls that would indignant turn,
And proud Oppression's minions spurn;
With nerves of steel, and words of flame,
To strike and scar the wretch who'd bring our land to shame!

II.

LAND of the West!—beneath the Heaven
There's not a fairer, lovelier clime;
Nor one to which was ever given
A destiny more high, sublime.
From Alleghany's base to where
Our Western Andes prop the sky—
The home of Freedom's hearts is there,
And o'er it Freedom's eagles fly.
And here,—should e'er Columbia's land
Be rent with fierce intestine feud,—
Shall Freedom's latest cohorts stand,
Till Freedoms eagles sink in blood,
And quench'd are all the stars that now her banners
stir!

TEXAS.

War with Mexico.

ANNEXION OF TEXAS!—There is reason to fear that a strenuous effort will be made at the next session of Congress, which convenes in September, to annex Texas to the United States! In connection with that measure, the nation would doubtless involve itself in a Mexican war. Some of the considerations which impel us to this conclusion, are the following.

1. The whole history of Texas plainly shows that the first settlers who emigrated from the United States, had this object distinctly and constantly in view from the beginning up to the present time.

2. This object has been and still is, a matter of extreme solicitude to the so-called Texans, who have provided for their Constitution for the introduction of domestic slavery into Texas, after it had been abolished by the Mexican government, and who have no hope of maintaining slavery there, unless connected with the United States. Slavery being forbidden by the laws of Mexico, the loss of independence would be the abolition of slavery; and even if it were possible that Texas could sustain its independence without the aid of the United States, they very well know that England would not permit the establishment of a new slaveholding nation, so near the newly emancipated population of the British West Indies.

3. The Texan insurrection against Mexico was obviously entered into with the intention and expectation of becoming annexed to the United States. The proofs on this point are abundant and will not be questioned.

4. It is equally certain that the great body of the people of our southern states, including their prominent statesmen, have been looking forward with anxious expectation for the annexation of Texas to this country, even before the tide of emigration began to pour in upon it, from the United States.

5. The Texan insurrection has been wholly carried on by emigrants from the United States, and sometimes seemingly countenanced by the presence of United States troops.

6. No one supposes that the Texan insurgents, aside from the anticipated aid of the United States would promise themselves the least prospect of succeeding in the establishment of their independence.

7. The vast amount of capital, whether fictitious or real, invested in the Texan lands, by the citizens of the United States, both at the North and the South, and especially in our two mercantile cities, has been invested with the view of two things, which have been invariably connected together, by the adventurers in those speculations, viz, the cultivation of those lands by slave labor, and the stability of slaveholding institutions under the protection of the United States.

8. The people of the slaveholding states, who never lose sight of an opportunity to strengthen themselves in the councils of the national government, by the admission of new slave states, can not fail to embrace the opportunity thus afforded of increasing their political power.

9. The planters of Maryland, Virginia, and Kentucky, who continue the slave system chiefly for the purpose of raising herds of human cattle for the southwestern market, are anxiously looking for the vast addition to that market, which would be opened by the annexation of Texas to the United States.

10. The sudden, and hasty, and unexpected recognition of Texan independence, by the United States, at the close of the last session of Congress, plainly indicates a disposition to bring the matter to a speedy crisis, and it can not be supposed that the independence of that province would have been recognized under circumstances so peculiar and extraordinary, unless it had been intended to follow up that measure by the only course of action which would render it of any effect. The United States, in a word, by acknowledging the independence of Texas, at a time when it was well known to the civilized world that, without the aid of the United States, that independence could not be maintained, was almost equivalent to a declaration that the United States was determined to maintain that independence, at all hazards.

11. The recent warlike movements against Mexico, and the united clamor of the political presses against the alleged aggressions of that power, at a time when all the world knew that the aggressions are on the other side, are sufficiently indicative of a disposition to plunge the nation in a Mexican war, as a pretext for seizing upon Texas, and annexing it to the United States.

12. Individuals whose opportunities have given them the best advantages for forming an intelligent opinion on this subject, are strongly apprehensive that the coming September session of Congress will be promptly seized upon as a favorable opportunity to secure the accomplishment of these objects.

13. These suspicions are confirmed by the extraordinary course of the political presses, especially those which may be supposed to take their cue from the chief sources of influence and power. While no opportunity is spared to throw out hints and suggestions which might serve to reconcile the people to a Mexican war and the accession of Texas, there is, at the same time, a most incongruous and overstrained effort, to lull the fears of the people asleep, and make them believe that there will be no movement for the annexation of Texas, at present!

14. The probability of such an effort, at the September session, is increased by the fact that the community, every where, are profoundly quiet and free from apprehension and alarm on the subject. We speak now of that numerous body of citizens, of all parties, who would doubtless speak out in thunder tones, against the consummation of such a project, if they supposed there was any serious danger it was about to be realized. If this class of men were wide awake and at their posts, there would be less reason to believe that the measure would be attempted.

There is little reason to believe that the independence of Texas would have been acknowledged at the last session, if there had been any previous apprehension, in the minds of the people at large, that such an event was about to take place. Remonstrance upon remonstrance would have been poured upon the national legislature. But there was no effort, because there was no alarm. The message of President Jackson and the speech of Governor McDuffie, (whatever might have been intended by those documents,) undoubtedly had the effect to make the almost universal impression that no attempt would be made during the session; to acknowledge the independence of Texas. The impression that it would not be attempted, was, without doubt, the principal secret of its success.

The friends of liberty and of the Union should see well to it that they are not caught slumbering a second time, or their posts. If they are, they must not be surprised if the wreck of our free institutions should finally prove to have been owing to their own inactivity and supineness. We speak not as partisans, and have no party ends to accomplish. To rail at the administration is no part of our desire. We call on all good citizens and especially on those who have influence with the individuals now in power, to step forward at a crisis like the present, and save the administration, by saving the country, from blood guiltiness, from retribution, from disgrace, disaster, and irretrievable ruin.—*Friend of Man.*

SLAVERY

The Authority of a Slave-holder over his Slave.

We are about to present a very important piece of testimony, which we hope will be attentively read and seriously weighed. It is a judicial decision of one of the most distinguished judges of North Carolina, extracted from Wheeler's "Law of Slavery," a work recommended to the members of the Southern Bar, by the Hon. Judge Hitchcock, of Alabama. We omit the argument by which the learned Judge shows that the *holder* of a slave, for the time being, is clothed with all the rights and authority of the owner.—*Human Rights.*

THE STATE V. MANN, DEC. T, 1829, 2 Devereaux's North Carolina Rep. 263.

The defendant was indicted for an assault and battery upon Lydia, the slave of one Elizabeth Jones. On the trial, it appeared that the defendant had hired the slave for a year; that during the term the slave had committed some small offence, for which the defendant undertook to chastise her; that while in the act of so doing, the slave ran off; whereupon the defendant called upon her to stop, which being refused, he shot at and wounded her. The judge in the court below, charged the jury, that if they believed the punishment inflicted by the defendant was cruel and unwarrantable, and disproportionate to the offence committed by the slave, that in law the defendant was guilty, as he had only a special property in the slave, and a *chattel*.

2. And yet, says the Rev. Prof. Hodge, of Princeton, the relation is not wrong in itself considered. And other divines tell us that we may honestly hold this relation, which it appears was established and is maintained for the very purpose of robbery, provided we do not hold it for "selfish ends!" That is to say, we may honestly steal, if we do not do it for selfish ends!

3. Who shall say, then, that the consciences of the slaveholders are not on the side of the abolitionists?

4. The reason is obvious from the foregoing: The right of the master will not bear discussion.

5. How could the learned Judge possibly "see" this when he had just admitted that the vengeance of the master was generally practised with impunity, "by reason of its privacy?" Could he certainly affirm that the "protection afforded by the several States," had produced any other effect than to render the vengeance of the masters more "private?" But how happens it that very recently, in some of our religious papers, to go to school to Judge Rufus till they can learn the difference between being a child and a *chattel*.

6. At the very time when this decision was given, the blacks were increasing upon the whites. In 1820, there were a little more than 48 slaves in North Carolina, to every 100 white men: in 1830, there were fifty-two to every hundred.

7. Did the distinguished judge mean to have it understood that the doctrines of "moral rights," which he had himself alluded to, were "false and fanatical?" Did he mean to warn his countrymen that a return to right would be a more appalling evil than perseverance in wrong?

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14. The probability of such an effort, at the September session, is increased by the fact that the community, every where, are profoundly quiet and free from apprehension and alarm on the subject.

15. The difficulty is to determine, where a *court* may properly begin. Merely in the abstract, it may well be asked, which power of the master accords with right? The answer will probably sweep away all of them. But we can not look at the matter in that light. The truth is, that we are forbidden to enter upon a train of general reasoning upon the subject. We cannot allow the right of the master to be brought into discussion in the courts of justice.

16. The slave, to remain a slave, must be made sensible that there is no appeal from his master; that his power is, in no instance, usurped; but it is conferred by the laws of man, at least, if not by the law of God. The danger would be great indeed, if the tribunals of justice should be called on to graduate the punishment appropriate to every temper, and every dereliction of menial duty. No man can anticipate the many and aggravated provocations of the master which the slave would be constantly stimulated, by his own passions, or the instigation of others, to give; or the consequent wrath of the master, prompting him to bloody vengeance, upon the turbulent traitor; a vengeance generally practised with impunity, by reason of its privacy.

The court, therefore, disclaims the power of changing the relation in which these parts of our people stand to each other.

We are happy to see, that there is daily less and less

as any man can. And as a principle of moral right, every person in his retirement must repudiate it. (3.) But in the actual condition of things, it must be so. There is no remedy. The discipline belongs to the state of slavery. They cannot be disintegrated, without abrogating it at once.

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THE PHILANTHROPIST.

CINCINNATI, OHIO, JULY 21, 1837.

Funds Again!

Again we must remind our friends, that we want money. Need we apologize? There are two classes from whom we expect remittances, subscribers, and those who have pledged certain amounts. We feel more delicacy in asking aid of the latter than the former. To subscribers, who have not paid, we say very good naturally, but very sincerely, you ought to pay. You receive our paper; we should receive your money. Methinks it will not be very hard to raise two dollars. Modesty must not blunt the edge of our application, when we turn to the pledged. We know the times are hard, but we know too, that when we tell you we must have help, you will deny yourselves for the sake of abolition. We wish our subscribers to pay us, that we may pay the printer. We wish pledges redeemed, that we may redeem our pledge to the parent society at New York, by paying their agents in Ohio. These agents are many of them unpaid as yet, but they will go unpaid, we are sure, no longer than it will take this to reach our friends, and their money to reach us. We deal thus plainly, because abolitionists love plain dealing, and prompt dealing too. We hope that the promptitude of response to this call, will save us the trouble of making it again.

PROSPECTUS.

Of the Unity and of the purity of the Morality contained in the two Testaments.

BY HEZEKIAH JOHNSON.

The author of this pamphlet would not have written it, had he not believed that the sentiment extensively prevalent, that the morality of the two Testaments is opposite and contradictory, and that they sanction one of the worst systems of oppression that ever cursed the human race. He is sensible that the inspiration of the Bible cannot be maintained, if it contains an opposite, contradictory and impure code of morals. He believes that the two dispensations differ, that their laws differ, and yet, that they are not opposite and contradictory. He proves, first, that the morality of the two Testaments is one, and is pure; second, that they, nowhere sanction slavery. Subscribers for this pamphlet shall have, each, in proportion to what he subscribes, at cost price to give away, or sell, as he may think best. The cost of each pamphlet will probably be 10 or 12 1/2 cents.

Political Action.

We wish to note a few things concerning the late election for Congressman, in the Third Congressional District of Philadelphia. Last year Charles Naylor was beaten by the Democratic Candidate. This year he succeeded over Ingersoll by a majority of 251 votes. Naylor is a young man, comparatively inexperienced in public life. Ingersoll is his senior, familiar with the operations of public business, highly popular with his party and a man of established claim to talent. Abolitionists in Philadelphia felt it their duty to vote with their eyes open. We are informed by the National Enquirer, that they became assured of Mr. Naylor's soundness on the great general principles of their enterprise, and from subsequent accounts it seems that they threw the weight of their influence in his scale. If they moved in this matter altogether, we have no doubt that Mr. Naylor owes his election to them. We should be glad, however, if friend Lundy had given us precise statements on this point; for it is important that all parties be convinced of the fixed determination of Abolitionists to sacrifice the ordinary attachments of party, for the sake of placing beyond all peril their vital rights which have been so shamelessly assailed by slave-holders and their minions. Let politicians fully believe that abolitionists will most surely use all their influence to put down a candidate, who will exert his influence to overthrow the fundamental principles of civil liberty, and it will not be long before our public councils shall be purged of that base and wicked spirit that would barter away the rights of the free states for slave-holding votes.

As to Mr. Naylor we knew him well several years ago and have too much confidence in him to feel any apprehension about his future course in Congress, in relation to any of the great rights which have been threatened in the Capitol. He must be much changed, or else freedom will find in him a fearless, prompt and skilful advocate.

Texas.

If the slaveholders were wise, they would not urge the annexation of Texas; but they look only at present interest. They seem to imagine that from this act, good every way must result to the interests of the slave-system. But will your foreign war for this be with Mexico alone? No, sir. As the weaker party, Mexico, when the contest shall have once begun, will look abroad, as well as among your negroes and your Indians, for assistance. Neither Great Britain nor France will suffer you to make such a conquest from Mexico; no, nor even to annex the independent State of Texas to your Confederation, unless their interposition. You will have an Anglo-Saxon intertwined with a Mexican war to wage. Great Britain may have no serious objection to the independence of Texas, and may be willing enough to take her under her protection, barrier both against Mexico and against you. But, as aggrandizement to you, she will not readily suffer it; and, above all, she will not suffer you to acquire it by conquest and the re-establishment of slavery. Urged on by the irresistible, overwhelming torrent of public opinion, Great Britain has recently, at a cost of one hundred millions of dollars, which her people have joyfully paid, abolished slavery throughout all her colonies in the West Indies. After setting such an example, she will not—*as impossible that she should, stand by and witness a war for the re-establishment of slavery where it had been for years abolished, and situated thus in the immediate neighborhood of her islands.* She will tell you, that if you must have Texas a member of your Confederacy, it must be without the stain or the trammels of slavery; and if you will wage a war to handcuff and fetter your fellow men, she will wage a war against you to break his chains. Sir what a figure, in the eyes of mankind, would you make, in deadly conflict with Great Britain: she fighting the battles of emancipation, and you the battles of slavery; she the benefactress, and you the oppressor, of human kind! In such a war, the enthusiasm of emancipation, too, would unite vast numbers of her people in aid of the national rivalry, and ill her natural jealousy against our aggrandizement. No war was ever so popular in England as that war would be against slavery, the slave trade, and the Anglo-Saxon descendant from her own loins.

ABSURDITY OF THE SCHEME OF ANNEXATION.

As to the annexation of Texas to your Confederation, what do you want it? Are you not large and unwieldy enough already? Do not two millions of square miles cover surface enough for the insatiate rapacity of your land jobbers? I hope there are none of them within the sound of my voice. Have you not Indians enough to expel from the land of their fathers' sepulchres, and to exterminate? What, in a prudential and military point of view, would be the addition of Texas to your domain? It would be weakness, and not power. Is your Southern and Southwestern frontier not sufficiently extensive? not sufficiently feeble? not sufficiently defenceless? Why are you adding regiment after regiment of dragoons to your standing army? Why are you struggling by direction and induction, to raise *per saltum* that army from less than six, to more than twenty thousand men? Your commanding General now returning from his excursion to Florida, openly recommends the increase of your army, to that number. The extension of your sea-coast frontier from the Sabine to the Rio Bravo would add to your weakness ten-fold; for it is now only weakness with reference to Mexico. It would then be weakness with reference to Great Britain, to France, even perhaps to Russia, to every naval European power, which might make a quarrel with us for the sake of settling a colony; but above all, to Great Britain. She, by her naval power, and by her American colonies, holds the keys of the Gulf of Mexico. What would be the condition of your frontier from the mouth of the Mississippi to that of the Rio del Norte, in the event of a war with Great Britain? Sir, the reasons of Mr. Monroe for accepting the Sabine as the boundary, were three,

THE NATURE, PERILS, AND DISGRACE OF A WAR WITH MEXICO.

Texas is an extreme boundary portion of the Republic of Mexico; a wilderness inhabited only by Indians till after the revolution which separated Mexico from Spain; not sufficiently populous at the organization of the Mexican Confederacy to form a State by itself, and therefore united with Coahuila, where the greatest part of the indigenous part of the population reside. Sir, the history of all the emancipated Spanish American Colonies has been, since their separation from Spain, a history of convulsions, war; of revolutions, accomplished by single, and often very insignificant battles; of chieftains, whose title to power has been the murder of their immediate predecessors. They have all partaken of the character of the first conquest of Mexico by Cortez, and of Peru by Pizarro, and this, sir, makes me shudder at the thought of connecting our destinies indissolubly with theirs. It may be that a new revolution in Mexico will follow upon this captivity or death of their President and commanding general; we have rumors, indeed, that such a revolution had happened even before his defeat; but I cannot yet see my way clear to the conclusion that either the independence of Texas, or the capture and military execution of Santa Anna, will save you from war with Mexico. Santa Anna was but a breed of which Spanish America for the last twenty-five years has been a teeming mother—soldiers of fortune, who, by the sword or the musket ball, have risen to supreme power, and by the sword or the musket ball have fallen from it. That breed is not extinct; the very last intelligence from Peru tells of one who has fallen there as Yuribide, and Mina, and Guerrero, and Santa Anna have fallen in Mexico. The same soil which produced them is yet fertile to produce others. They re-produce themselves, with nothing but a change of the name and of the man—Your war, sir, is to be a war of races—the Anglo-Saxon American pitted against the Moorish-Spanish Mexican American; a war between the northern and southern halves of North America; from Passamaquoddy to Panama. Are you prepared for such a war?

But sir, suppose you should annex Texas to these United States; another year would not pass before you would have to engage in a war for the conquest of the Island of Cuba. What is now the condition of that Island? Still under the nominal protection of Spain. And what is the condition of Spain herself? Consuming her own vitalities in a civil war for the succession of the crown. Do you expect, that whatever may be the issue of that war, she can retain even the nominal possession of Cuba? After having lost all her continental colonies in North and South America, Cuba will stand in need of more efficient protection; and above all, the protection of a naval power. Suppose that naval power should be Great Britain. There is Cuba at your very door; and if you spread yourself along a naked coast, from the Sabine to the Rio Bravo, what will be your relative position towards Great Britain, with not only Jamaica, but Cuba, and Porto Rico in her hands, and abolition for the motto of their union cross of St. George and Saint Andrew? Mr. Chairman, do you think I am treading on fantastic grounds? Let me tell you a piece of history, not far remote. Sir, many years have not passed away since an internal revolution in Spain subjected that country and her king for a short time to the momentary government of the Cortes. That revolution was followed by another, by which, under the auspices of a French army with the Duke d'Angoulême at their head; Ferdinand the Seventh was restored to a despotic throne; Cuba had followed the fortunes of the Cortes when they were crowned with victory, and when the counter revolution came, the inhabitants of the island, uncertain what was to be their destination, were for some time in great perplexity what to do for themselves. Two considerable parties arose in the island, one of which was for placing it under the protection of Great Britain, and another for annexing it to the confederation of these United States. By one of these parties I have reason to believe that overtures were made to the Government of Great Britain. By the other I know that overtures were made to the Government of the United States. And I further know that secret, though irresponsible assurances were communicated to the then President of the United States, as coming from the French Government, that they were secretly informed that the British Government had determined to take possession of Cuba. Whether similar overtures were made to France herself, I do not undertake to say; but that Mr. George Canning, then the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, was under no inconsiderable alarm, lest under the pupillage of the Duke d'Angoulême, Ferdinand the Seventh might commit to the commander of a French naval squadron the custody of the Moro Castle, is a circumstance also well known to me. It happened that just about that time, a French squadron of considerable force was fitted out and received sailing orders for the West Indies, without formal communication of the fact to the British Government; and that as soon as it was made known to him, he gave orders to the British Ambassador at Paris to demand in the most peremptory tone, what was the destination of that squadron, and a special and positive disclaimer that it was intended even to visit the Havana; and this was made the occasion of mutual explanations, by which Great Britain, France, and the United States, not by the formal solemnity of a treaty, but by the implied engagement of mutual assurances of intention, gave pledges of honor to each other, that neither of them should in the then condition of the island, take it, or the Moro Castle, as its citadel, from the possession of Spain. This engagement was on all sides faithfully performed; but without it, who doubts that from that day to this either of the three powers might have taken the island and held it in undisputed possession?

At this time circumstances have changed—popular revolutions both in France and Great Britain, have perhaps curbed the spirit of conquest in Great Britain, and France may have enough to do to govern her kingdom of Algiers. But Spain is again convulsed with a civil war for the succession to her crown; she has irretrievably lost all her colonies on both continents of America. It is impossible that she should hold much longer a shadow of dominion over the islands of Cuba and Porto Rico, nor can those islands in their present condition, form independent nations, capable of protecting themselves. They must for ages remain at the mercy of Great Britain or of these United States, or of both; Great Britain is even now about to interfere in this war for the Spanish succession. If by the intercession of the Mexican confederacy this revolt of Texas should lead immediately to its separation from that Republic, and its annexation to the United States, I believe it impossible that Great Britain should look on while this operation is performing with indifference. She will see that it must shake her own whole colonial power on this continent, in the Gulf of Mexico, and in the Caribbean Seas, like an earthquake; she will see, too, that it endangers her own abolition of slavery in her own colonies. A war for the restoration of slavery where it has been abolished, if successful in Texas, must extend over all Mexico; and the example will threaten her with imminent danger of a war of colors in her own islands. She will take possession of Cuba and of Porto Rico, by cession from Spain or by the batteries from her wooden walls; and if you ask her by what authority she has done it, she will ask you in return, by what authority you have extended your sea-coast from the Sabine to the Rio Bravo. She will ask you a question more perplexing, namely: by what authority you with freedom, independence, and democracy upon your lips, are waging a war of extermination to forge new massacres and fevers, instead of those which are falling from the hands and feet of man? She will carry emancipation and abolition with her in every fold of her flag; while your stars, as they increase in numbers, will be overcast with the murky vapors of oppression, and the only portion of your banners visible to the eye, will be the blood-stained stripes of the task masters.

First, he had no confidence in the strength of our claim as far as the Rio Bravo; secondly, he thought it would make our Union so heavy, that it would break into fragments by its own weight; thirdly, he thought it would protract a long line of sea-coast, which, in our first war with Great Britain, she might take into her own possession, and which we should be able neither to defend nor to recover. At that time there was no question of slavery or of abolition involved in the controversy. The country belonged to Spain; it was a wilderness, and slavery was the established law of the land. There was then no project for carving out nine slave States, to hold eighteen seats in the upper wing of this capitol, in the triangle between the mouths and the sources of the Mississippi and Rio Bravo. But what was our claim? Why, it was that La Salle, having discovered the mouth of the Mississippi, and France having made a settlement at New Orleans, France had a right to one half the sea-coast from the mouth of the Mississippi to the next Spanish settlement, which was Vera Cruz. The mouth of the Rio Bravo was about half way from the Balsas to Vera Cruz; and so as grantees, from France of Louisiana, we claimed to the Rio del Norte, though the Spanish settlement of Santa Fe was the head of that river. France, from whom we had received Louisiana, utterly disclaimed ever having even raised such a pretension. Still we made the best of the claim that we could, and finally yielded it for the Floridas, and for the line of the forty-second degree of latitude from the source of the Arkansas river to the South sea. Such was our claim; and you may judge how much confidence Mr. Monroe could have in its validity. The great object and desire of the country then, was to obtain the Floridas. It was General Jackson's desire; and in that conference with me to which I have heretofore alluded, and which it is said he does not recollect, he said to me that so long as the Florida rivers were not in our possession, there could be no safety for our whole southern country.

Congress extend to interference with the institution of slavery in every way by which it can be interfered with, from a claim of indemnity for slaves taken or destroyed, to the session of the State burdened with slavery to a foreign power."

Convention in 1838.

Abolitionists would do well to keep their eyes on the political movements of the day. We had hoped that the recent Whig Convention at Columbus would have given some decided expression of opinion with regard to the fundamental principles of civil government. The aspect of the times, the demands of slave-holders, the obvious indifference of our nation to the great doctrine of human rights, and the assaults, multiplied, and in some instances ferocious, on the rights of the press, speech and conscience in this State, had created a special exigency for that recurrence to fundamental principles which is enjoined by our Constitution. The Convention has met, and on these great "principles" has maintained perfect silence.

Let this be remembered by Abolitionists. Then let them attend to the following extract from the report adopted by the Convention. In reference to the overthrow of the present Administration, we have this language:

"All sections of the country must unite—all minor divisions must be laid aside—all personal prejudices must be given up. Among those who are resolved that there shall be reform, there must be a *long pull, a strong pull, and a pull altogether*." The advocates of nullification and the supporters of the "force bill" have a common interest in this matter. Both are equally prostrated in the existing order of things. The Slave-holder and the Abolitionist, the Mason and the Anti-Mason are alike its victims. It is a common destroyer, and until it is driven from its strong holds, all are its victims or its satellites. To effect its destruction, it must be attacked in its citadel. The rally must be made at the Presidential election of 1840, and the reform suffrage concentrated upon a single candidate for the Presidency, and a single candidate for the Vice Presidency. The agency, therefore, of a National Convention is necessary to secure this concentration, and such a measure is, therefore, respectfully suggested.

These politicians have committed a radical blunder. In the face of all facts and declarations, they have taken for granted, that with abolitionists and slave-holders the question of the continuance or overthrow of the system of American slavery is a *minor consideration*. Need we tell them, that whatever compromise they may form with slave-holders, abolitionists can form none. If they had studied abolitionism as they ought—if they had looked into the character of abolitionists—if they had examined the system of slavery, its fatal effect on our welfare, the means alone by which it can live, the great object and real policy of slave-holders—they could hardly have been so superficial as to imagine slavery a minor consideration; or so visionary as to suppose slave-holders and abolitionists could compromise their *minor divisions*."

Sometimes ago a distinguished editor gave his opinion, that we should place Hugh L. White as strong as our support as Harrison, Clay, or Webster. This seems to have been the opinion of the Convention. After several suggestions about a National Convention, they passed the following among other resolutions:

"Resolved, That this Convention, though believing that their fellow-citizens of the State would prefer to select Wm. H. HARRISON, whose public services and qualifications of talents, experience, magnanimity, justice and patriotism they know and appreciate; yet they feel confidence in giving the assurance that should another person be selected, be he of the South, or of the middle, or of the North, he will be sustained in Ohio with all the power, zeal and energy that would be employed in support of her own favorite fellow-citizen."

If, then, the South should insist, and a concentration of political forces can be effected in no other manner, a slave-holder, one who believes that the Declaration of Independence is a mere rhetorical flourish; that Congress has no power to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia; that Texas, with its "eternal load of slavery," should be admitted into our Union; that slavery is perfectly defensible on principles taught in nature and revelation—a slave-holder will be selected, and the Whig Convention "feels confidence in giving the assurance that he will be sustained in Ohio with all the power, zeal and energy that would be employed in the support of her own favorite fellow-citizen."

Now we know not precisely how abolitionists feel towards Ohio's favorite fellow-citizen, (although at the right period they will doubtless express their feelings, in accordance with their abolition principles,) but we know that their "power, zeal and energy," will be most cheerfully exerted, not to sustain, but to defeat any such slave-holding candidate. It is not seemly at this age of our republic, that slave-holders or pro-slavery advocates should be the presiding officers of a people who annually proclaim that all men are created free and equal.

Happily contrasting with the spirit of this Convention, as also of the Republican members of the New York Legislature, (an extract from whose address we recently published,) are the following resolutions passed at the Democratic State Convention, held in the city of Montpelier, Vermont, viz.:

"Resolved, That while the language and conduct of the party of power and privilege is that of the Pharisee who prayed—*God, I thank thee that I am not as other men, or even as this publican*—the party of popular rights should always aim, in their efforts for the maintenance of equal rights and republican freedom, to act upon the most sublime and beautiful, and democratic of all sentiments—*Love your neighbor as yourself; and do unto others as ye would that others should do unto you*."

Resolved, That we, as Democrats, cannot justify slavery, either political or domestic; and that we look with confidence and hope to the day when the principles of the Declaration of Independence will be universally carried into practice, and all men in the United States be born free and equal.

Resolved, That while we concur with John Quincy Adams in the sentiment that every human being has the right of petition and prayer we necessarily disagree with the Hon. Wm. Slade, that it is wrong to do right in the exercise of that privilege."

Resolved, That while we deplore the moral evils of slavery, we cannot but recommend to our brethren of the North, that in all their expression of sympathy for the suffering, and in all their exertions for the liberation of the slave from servitude, they should not forget that the masters of the slaves are our political, constitutional brethren, and abolition with her in every fold of her flag; while your stars, as they increase in numbers, will be overcast with the murky vapors of oppression, and the only portion of your banners visible to the eye, will be the blood-stained stripes of the task masters.

Alluding to a sentiment in Mr. Slade's letter to the editors of the *National Intelligencer*, to the effect, that while the slaves have a right to petition, they ought not to exercise it.

Mr. Adams.

The Richmond Enquirer says—

"This eccentric politician continues to puzzle both friend and foe. No one can count with any sort of confidence upon his movements. No one can tell where to find him."

Mr. Adams is "eccentric" because he is *individual*. Such an one as the Enquirer cannot "count with any sort of confidence upon his movements," because Mr. Adams is moved by his own judgment. "No one can tell where to find him," simply because he is a *free agent*. Ordinary politicians are not *free agents*, but machines—the machines of party. They are not "eccentric," because they are steadily obey the will of party, as an ox obeys the "hows" and "whys" of its driver; and if you want to find them, all you have to do is to ask party where it has put them.

REPORT of the Second Anniversary of the Ohio Anti-Slavery Society, held in Mount Pleasant, Jefferson County, April 27, 1837.

"This is a pamphlet of 67 pages—of which the Report of the Executive Committee fills nearly 40 pages. The Report speaks of the "determined opposition of the church in Cincinnati to the Anti-slavery cause." Is this true? According to our notion, *letting alone* and "determined opposition" mean different things. The pamphlet contains many things of general interest.—Cincinnati Cross and Journal.

The churches in Cincinnati have been opened to Missionary, Tract and Temperance meetings. Colonization agents have had the privilege of advocating in them the claims of Colonization. Their doors have been thrown open for the annual meetings of the College of Teachers. Fourth of July orators have held forth from their pulpits; and one of the most prominent of them was once devoted to the use of the society of Odd Fellows. Abolitionists—with characters unimpeachable; with objects confessedly noble; suffering under misrepresentation, slandered and persecuted, have asked these churches again and again to open their doors to them; that they might explain their views, and vindicate themselves from the aspersions of their enemies: they have asked that they might be heard in their defense. Again and again have they been denied this privilege. Churches have closed their doors; church-members have been among their most violent persecutors; and very few of them, we know, have ever taken the trouble to examine their principles or arguments. Will the Cross and Journal tell us this is not "determined opposition?"—When Jesus went forth to work miracles and to preach the word, suppose the Scribes and Pharisees had closed their synagogues against him—kept themselves out of the reach of his voice—never permitted themselves to go near the scene of his miracles—excluded him from all access to them, would it not be proper to speak of "determined opposition" to the Messiah? Would the editor of the Cross and Journal be well-pleased enough in this case to see any difference between "letting alone," and "determined opposition?" It is a shallow sophistry that would cover over the "determined opposition of the churches of Cincinnati to the anti-slavery cause," by the non-committal phraseology, "letting alone!" "Will you grant me a night's lodging in your house, sir?" "Why, sir, I am by no means opposed to your lodging with me, but I shall let you alone where you are." According to the traveller's notion, "letting alone" and "determined opposition," would not mean very "different things" in this case.

"Taunt from Europe."—We would inform our friend at New Richmond, that this has already appeared in most of the anti-sl

Right of Trial by Jury.—Repeal of Obnoxious Laws, &c.

We are glad to see abolitionists in Ohio, beginning to direct more attention to these topics. Every where throughout the State, the most vigorous efforts should be made favorably to influence public sentiment and to prepare the way for procuring such a number of names to petitions on these subjects, as shall convince our Legislature of the propriety of repealing the discriminative laws concerning people of color, and securing to all the benefit of a Jury trial.

At the third anniversary of the Lorain County Anti-Slavery Society, held July 4th, the following excellent resolutions were passed:

By the Rev. I. M. Tracy—

Whereas, by the Constitution of Ohio, it is classed among the "great and essential principles of liberty and free government," that the right of trial by jury shall be inviolate; and whereas, it is a universal practice in this State, to deliver up its inhabitants into slavery, upon the sole testimony of an interested claimant, without such jury trial, therefore,

Resolved, That such practice, under whatever pretended authority followed, is contrary to the genius of our Government, and should immediately be abandoned.

By P. Bliss, Resolved, That the Legislatures of Massachusetts and New Jersey, by the recent enactment of laws to secure a trial by jury to every inhabitant of those States who may be claimed as a slave, have shown their attachment to the principles of the American Revolution, and furnished an example soon to be followed by every free State.

By P. Bliss, Resolved, That the laws of Ohio, relating to "free people of color," are contrary to the letter and spirit of our State Constitution—a disgrace to a civilized community, and ought to be immediately abolished.

Such resolutions should be passed by all our Societies. They would greatly tend to draw attention to the important matters embraced in them.

Another resolution passed is worthy of record:

By Nathan P. Johnson,
Resolved, That the efforts of the Hon. John Q. Adams on the floor of Congress, in defence of the sacred right of petition, entitle him to the lasting gratitude of all who regard the liberties of mankind, or the welfare of their country.

The officers of the Society for the ensuing year, are:—
President—Daniel W. Lathrop.
Vice President—Dr. Richard Howard.
Cor. Secretary—John Monteith.
Recording Secretary—Wm. M. Beebe.
Treasurer—R. Reddington.

New Society.—Windsor Anti-Slavery Society, Morgan County, No. 19. President, T. C. Keyes; Secretary, D. B. Keyes.

Medina County Anti-Slavery Society.—At the annual meeting of this society in Weymouth, July 4th, one of the resolutions passed, was as follows:

By Mr. Olcott:—
Resolved, That the Republic of Hayti has clearly had the right by the law of nations, to a recognition of its independence from the other nations of the earth, ever since it established that character in 1804; and that the prejudices which have prevented such recognition, are not only unrighteous and unjust, but impolitic, mean, and disgraceful."

This is right. Let us search out every ramifications of the spirit of slavery. Wherever we see the offspring of the monster, there let us strike. Universal and eternal war, not against slave-holders, but slavery: this should be our motto.

The officers of this society for the ensuing year, are—
James Stiles, President.
Urial M. Chappell, Samuel Curtiss, Vice Presidents.
Timothy Hudson, Secretary.
Nathan Nettleton, Treasurer.

Southern Method of treating Claims to Liberty.—The two following items are from the New Orleans True American:

"Detained, in the police prison of the 2d Municipality a negro woman named LOUISA, aged about 17—says she is free. The owner will comply with the law: and take her away."

H. S. HARPER, Captain of the Watch."

"Was brought to the police prison of the second Municipality, a mulatto man named JOHN GRAY, aged about 32 years: says he is free. The owner will prove property, pay charges, and take him away."

H. S. HARPER, Captain of the Watch."

Answer to the Slaveholders' Demands.

Our readers have not forgotten the insolent demands made by Slaveholders of Northern Legislatures, for the suppression of freedom of speech and of the press. With the response of those Legislatures we are not now so particularly concerned as with the response of the free people of the North. It may be found in the subjoined toasts, clipped from accounts in our exchange papers of the late celebration of the National Anniversary.

PIQUA, OHIO.
By D. L. Webb. Freedom of thought, freedom of opinion, and freedom of the press. Let every freeman resist any attempt to circumscribe either of these inalienable rights.

CANTON, OHIO.
Celebration by the Citizens.

By Joshua Saxton. African Slavery: The darkest blot in the escutcheon of our national glory. May it be "expunged" by the concentrated force of public opinion.

By J. Matthias. Freedom of Speech, and liberty of the Press: the main pillars of our liberty. May they never cease to exist.

HARRISON CO., CADIZ, OHIO.
Whig Celebration.

By John G. McCullough. Freedom of Speech and of the Press: the right of petition, with a just regard to all natural and inherent rights, the inculcation of correct moral and virtuous principles, (regardless of popular prejudice in favor of grades or shades) the only palladium of our liberties.

MERCER CO., ST. MARY'S, OHIO.
11th. The freedom of speech, and the freedom of the press; the greatest safeguards of equal rights and equal liberty. 1 gun, 3 cheers.

By R. P. Schroeder, (a German.) The freedom of the speech and the freedom of the press, the basis of American liberty.

MEDINA CO., OHIO.
Anti-Slavery Celebration.

Resolved, That on this anniversary of our national independence, we renewly pledge ourselves to defend the doctrine of true liberty, as set forth in our political constitution, and not to cease to plead for those sacred principles of freedom, which our bill of rights affirms to be equally inherent in every human being, viz: "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

HARRISON CO., CADIZ, OHIO.
Mechanics' Celebration.

1st. The three Grand Pillars of the Temple of Liberty.—Freedom of conscience, freedom of speech, and freedom of the press, while these pillars stand firm, the superstructure can not fall.

2nd. Intemperance, Slavery, Injustice.—A three-fold curse. May public sentiment, like an irresistible tempest, sweep them from our land.

[Rather an unfortunate juxtaposition for our southern brethren's corner-stone. Ed. Hill.]

3rd. Mobocracy.—A horrible monster: may legitimate authority waken it in infamy.

MADISON, HAMILTON COUNTY, OHIO.

General Celebration.

[David T. Disney, a member of the celebrated market-house committee, orator of the day.]

By A. B. Perlee. The immense Temple of American Liberty.—May it stand a lesson to oppressors, an example to the oppressed, a sanctuary to the rights of mankind! May these happy United States attain that complete splendor and prosperity which will illustrate the blessings of their government, and for ages to come, rejoice the happy souls of its founders.

By Mr. Debolt. Our Country and its Laws.—May freedom of speech, freedom of conscience, and freedom of the press, ever remain sacred and inviolable. Then will our happy republic continue to rise in the majesty and strength of its greatness, and all future generations reiterate, "We are blest!"

By C. T. Jones. The Press.—Conducted with talent and integrity, it holds the check reins of the chariot of despotism. Its freedom is inseparable from the rights of man.

By David Clark. May the flag of liberty forever wave over the relics of tyranny and despotism.

By C. Leaming. May the land of America continue to be the asylum of the oppressed, and the oppressed go free of every shade.

WESTCHESTER, N. Y.

Sent in by Caleb Roscoe. The Declaration of American Independence.—Its Heaven-derived doctrines irreducible in their character, and immutable in their terms, embrace the whole human race. May its principles and its pathos continue as this day to expand the heart, and inspire the spirit of the patriots of our own, and every other land, until their benign benefits shall compass the earth, and fill the world with philanthropists and freemen.

By John Leggett, Jr. American liberty—Freedom of opinion, freedom of industry, and freedom of conscience.

CARLISLE, PA.

Celebration by all Parties.

Freedom of discussion on any and every subject, and responsibility to the laws—the vital principle of republican government—men who cannot cherish and appreciate these principles are only fit to be slaves—fit for the government of the bayonet.

CONEAUTVILLE, PA.

Temperance Celebration.

Alcohol and Slavery—Combined to degrade the sons of liberty. May the free people of our country unite their influence in banishing them from amongst us. Then we may boast of freedom in reality.

The present Generation.—May it banish Intemperance and Slavery from our land, that the rising generation may inhale our liberty in its purest atmosphere.

By Wm. S. Croxin. Our Union.—Too firm and unshaken to be moved by the mere abolition of slavery.

Incendiarism in Kentucky.

We subjoin a toast recently given at a 4th of July celebration at Maxwell's Springs, Kentucky. Ed. Phil.

By Capt. Samuel Fitch.—The Tree of Liberty: planted by the patriot of '76, manured by their blood, nourished by their offspring; may it take deep root in our soil, overshadow the nations of the world, and emancipate the sons of men!

[What parentage have slaves? Ed. Phil.]

The three following were presented to the Toast Committee by one of its members, but at the celebration were said to have been lost. The editor of the Lexington Intelligencer remarks, that they were probably considered "too good for preservation"! ! !

Education.—Like the solar heat, it makes beautiful and valuable, the otherwise inert elements on which its vivifying influence is exerted: may it speedily permeate every American mind.

The American Revolution.—The beacon-light of nations! In their pristine purity, may its fires glow till tyranny can find on earth no dark den unvisited by their regenerating effulgence.

Science.—Inconsistent with mental subjugation! The nation that does not cherish it in all her borders, deserves that political slavery, against which it is the surest safeguard.

Such toasts were very conveniently "lost" by slave-holders. The following toast must have crept in "when men slept!"

"The cause of human Liberty.—Tyrants quail under its influence; its course is upwards and onwards, until the whole world bows to its supremacy, and every altar of slavery is crumbled into the dust."

A true abolition toast.

At another celebration, in Jessamine county, this toast was given—

The Oppressed of all Nations.—We hail them success in their struggles for virtuous liberty.

Do they mean to "hail" the "oppressed" of this nation? What a strange set of people we republicans be!

The Presbyterian Church and Slavery.

"A Member of the Assembly" asked us last week whether it was not strange that "all the leaders (to say nothing of the rest) some of whom are men of the utmost candor and fearlessness,—men, who in private and public have spoken freely everywhere on all these subjects, and have never kept them buried in the dark recesses of their hearts—that they should all conspire solemnly to pen grave and important resolutions for the eyes of the church and the world, and support them with reasons that are mere pretences, or altogether secondary, while they conceal the true ground and reason of the whole!"

It is not our intention to open the discussion of this matter again, but we would wish to state a single fact, that has come to our knowledge since our last number.

Dr. Baxter, head of the Virginia Theological School, was President of the Reform Convention in Philadelphia, and a leader in the great work of excommunication. In the Southern Religious Telegraph of July 8th, is published an address of his to the students of the seminary, defending the acts of the Assembly. After arguing the constitutional question, he passes to the consideration of three great advantages resulting from the act of excommunication. These advantages it is obvious, from the manner in which he names them, must have been the leading motives to the act. A prominent one is discussed on as follows:

"Another advantage of the course pursued, if it be sustained and carried out by the churches, is, that it will put an end to the Abolition question and disturbance in the Presbyterian church. I always had the impression that the abolition spirit must be principally in the New School, and that the good old Presbyterians, with whom I had been acquainted, could not be carried away with that fanatical system. One motive with me for going into the Convention, was to feel the pulse of our Northern friends on that subject, and on this point I was gratified beyond my most sanguine expectation. I found our Northern friends reasonable and prudent on the subject of slavery, and we conversed about it in the style of former times, before the fanaticism of abolition had infected the public mind. In the Convention there were 124 members, upwards of one hundred were members of the Assembly, and among these there were but two abolitionists. These were from the Presbytery of Chillicothe, and they professed to be very moderate.

In the Assembly, with the exception of those Chillicothe members, I do not believe that there was a single abolitionist among the orthodox, whilst nearly the whole of the New School were of that description. Vast bundles of petitions and memorials were sent to the Assembly from the New School churches, some of them, as we were told, were signed by 500 ladies. All these papers were handed over to the committees of bills and overtures, by whom they were suppressed, as soon as their subject was known, without reading. Dr. Beman, who was a member of that committee, used his privilege of appealing to the house, and brought up the question whether those papers should or should not be read in the Assembly. At this time, our only orthodox abolitionists had left the house, and on the trial of the question every orthodox

member had left the house, and every New School

vote in favor of it; with the exception of a few men, who lived in a slave-holding country.

During the meeting of the General Assembly frequent abolition meetings were held in Philadelphia. I was gratified to learn that no church could be obtained for their purpose, except the Universalist church. At these meetings most of the leading members of the N. School delivered addresses; but I believe none of the orthodox attended. A clergyman of my acquaintance, in whose veracity I have the highest confidence, told me that he had lately travelled through most of the synods declared to be out of the Assembly, and that he found them to be mere hot-beds of abolition; that he seldom heard a family prayer or a grace before meat, which did not contain some abolition sentiments. From these facts, and from others which I could mention, I have no doubt that if the acts of the General Assembly should be properly sustained, and the separation begin should be carried out, the Presbyterian Church, by getting clear of the New School, will at the same time get clear of abolition."

—We are grateful to our friend B——, in Philadelphia for his thoughtfulness.

A BEACON LIGHT FOR LOUISIANA SLAVES.

The New Orleans True American thus commences a paragraph:

"The Glorious Fourth!—At day-break this morning the thunder of artillery announced the glorious day that gave freedom to millions, and lit a beacon of hope for all the enslaved of the world."

On the same page we have three advertisements of negroes, detained in the police prison, asserting their freedom. Nevertheless each advertisement concludes on this wise: "The owner will prove property, pay charges, and take away." What "a beacon of hope to the enslaved," is our "glorious fourth!"

Voice from the South.—The editor of the Charleston Observer says—

"On examining the votes of the General Assembly, there is a much nearer approximation to a geographical division between the majority and the minority, than we could have anticipated. The synod of Albany, and the synods westward, including Missouri, were chiefly on one side; while four-fifths of the members south of that line, were on the other, which composed the majority of the Assembly."

From the Emancipator.

A friend has handed us the following, which is better than anything of ours, just at this time:

Plan of Raising Funds.

To Anti-Slavery Societies:

In order to raise ample funds to sustain and extend Anti-Slavery effort, it is earnestly recommended that *new* *week societies*, upon the plan most successfully adopted by benevolent institutions in England, be formed forthwith throughout the free States. A few remarks in elucidation of the subject, are respectfully submitted:

1. THE OBJECT.—This is simply to get every individual friendly to a good cause, to give something steadily and regularly towards its support. As all are to be included as contributors, the amount asked for must be within the reach of all. In England, one penny per week was fixed upon; we may therefore safely ask *one cent* here. Let all who love and have espoused our cause, give this; and where God has given riches, let the stewards thereof put their ten, hundreds, or thousands of dollars in addition.

2. THE ORGANIZATION.—The penny societies in England are conducted by women; principally by the young and unmarried. Each association is usually connected with a church. Females willing to become collectors are invited to meet and organize; which they do, by electing a board of managers, and a list of collectors. The association meets at a convenient place—(usually the Church, or some room connected with it,) the first Monday in each month, to report progress and pay in receipts, with the names of contributors, to the treasurer. Each collector is required to procure at least *six* subscribers. Many procure from one to two hundred. They never ask or receive more than one penny per week. Any sums over that amount are handed in separately, and recorded as donations. All accounts and proceedings are carefully registered in suitable books, by the secretaries.

3. MODE OF COLLECTION.—This is by the personal application of the collectors. Their own females, the attendants at their own churches, and their immediate personal connections, usually furnish a large list as the general assembly can collect from an entire town or parish, and solicit from door to door. They are furnished with cards, upon which they enter the names of contributors. They usually collect once a month, as more convenient than every week; and furnish to each subscriber, monthly or quarterly, as the case may be, a paper called "an abstract," containing a condensed statement of the proceeding of the society, on whose account the collection is made, which has a very happy influence, in diffusing information and keeping an interest alive.

4. THEIR GENERAL EFFECTS.—In every point of view, these associations are most efficient and beneficial. At least \$100,000 are thus raised annually in England, for religious and benevolent objects. Such associations form a perennial spring both of sanctified wealth and of holy influence; on the one hand, filling the treasures of benevolence, and on the other, replenishing its ranks with well-trained and devoted agents. In England it is now almost a matter of course, in religious families, to enrol each child as a subscriber to one or more of these penny societies, from the day of its birth; so that the habit of giving to God the "first fruit," becomes familiar to the rising generation; and the collection of these "first fruits" constitutes a vast number of young persons to a course of active benevolence.

It appears that 110,000 persons were sufficiently interested in the Anti-Slavery cause to sign our petition to Congress last session, it is not unreasonable to suppose, that all those persons would have given a cent per week to the cause. Nor can it be doubted that each signer had, on the average, at least one child, or intimate connection, who might have been induced to contribute the same. Here, then, would have been \$110,000 for our glorious cause. In view of these facts, let us not overlook "small things," nor lose a moment in organizing associations throughout the land, to "gather up the fragments, that nothing may be lost."

New York, May 19, 1837.

POEMS written during the Progress of the Abolition Question in the United States, between the years 1830 and 1838, by JOHN G. WHITTIER. Boston, Isaac Knapp, 1837.

EMANCIPATION.

Arrival of Agents from the West Indies.

In our last we briefly announced the arrival of the Delegates of the American Anti-Slavery Society, who have passed the last six months in visiting the English West India Islands—JOSEPH HORACE KENWELL of New Hampshire, and JAMES A. THOME, of Kentucky. They are accompanied by THOMAS HARVEY and DR. LLOYD of England—members of the Society of Friends, and colleagues of JOSEPH STURGE, who recently visited this city on his return home.

At the last meeting of the Executive Committee, all the above brethren were present, and made highly interesting statements. The Executive Committee requested their agents to prepare a full account of their investigations for publication. It is expected that they will present a mass of interesting facts relating to the experiment of entire freedom and the working of the apprenticeship system—the intelligence, industry, and docility of the negroes, prejudice against color, the safety of immediate emancipation, &c. &c.

We annex the substance of the remarks made by the English brethren.—*Emancipator.*

MR. HARVEY'S REMARKS.

I need not make any remarks on the working of the apprenticeship system, in Jamaica, and the other islands, which your own delegates have visited. Their statements will, I doubt not, be more perspicuous and valuable than mine, and so far as I can judge from the conversation I have had with them, the result of our observations is the same.

The other colonies which I have seen are Dominica, St. Lucia, and Montserrat. In the two former the population is very small in proportion to the size and resources of the islands, and the apprentices are much less advanced and enlightened than old British colonies—their religion and language being that of their former government, the French—her impure Creole patois, which is spoken, prevents us from conversing with the negroes themselves, but we ascertained that they manifested the same strong desire for education as their more happily circumstanced neighbors. In St. Lucia there is only one Protestant minister and one School. This island appears to have been neglected both by the English Government and people, and, as one of its most influential inhabitants remarked to us, scarcely a ray of light has yet reached it from any religious or benevolent society. In Dominica, the means of instruction are beginning to be extensively afforded, and though the foreign language of the people prevents adult instruction, yet the children rapidly acquire elementary knowledge, and their desire to learn English, affords an additional stimulus at least equivalent to the obstacles which the use of that language in the school, interposes to their advancement.

The island of Montserrat is an interesting little colony, possessing a colored and black population of about 9000. About a year ago a proposition was made in the island legislature, to abolish the apprenticeship—the bill passed the council or upper house, and was rejected in the assembly, by one vote—that of a colored member, and quondam liberal, who being the proprietor of a number of apprentices, not attached to any real estate, but working out for hire, would have totally lost their services by emancipation. The measure of abolition alluded to, did not originate in philanthropic motives, but was the result of a *calculation*, that free labor would be cheaper in the then circumstances of the colony. The bill being lost, five proprietors adopted it individually, and executed releases of the remaining services of their bondsmen, placing them at once on the footing of free laborers. Four other proprietors gave wages to their apprentices in lieu of all former allowances except the Saturday, after a rate equal to half the computed value of their labor. These nine estates are about one third of the whole number cultivated in sugar—the result of the measures adopted on them is most satisfactory, as we were assured by several of the proprietors themselves. The experiment of complete emancipation is decidedly favorable, and in addition to the state of Antigua, evidence by contrast with the other islands the impolicy of the apprenticeship. The conduct of the apprentices of Montserrat generally, and particularly of those on the estates above mentioned, is the more important, that the island is not densely populated, but possesses abundance of waste, fertile land which, if the often repeated assertions of the planters had been true, would have offered the means and irresistible inducement to the people to relapse into a state of barbarism, supplying their few and simple wants by the rudest and simplest cultivation of the soil. They prefer, however, to work for wages, and show as little disposition to retrograde as ourselves. Like their brethren elsewhere, they are eagerly anxious for education and religious instruction.

From my own observation, I cannot but conclude the apprenticeship to be useless and injurious. The slave did not require it as preparation, nor is it in any sense a state of preparation for freedom—if immediately emancipated, he would have done justice to himself and the community. The admirable conduct of apprentices in enduring peacefully a system so anomalous and oppressive, is the only satisfaction that the contemplation of its working affords. What would have been the influence of a *compulsory* sudden emancipation in such a colony as Jamaica upon agriculture and commerce is perhaps doubtful. The masters appear to have required an apprenticeship, though the slaves did not. Had the free system been at once enforced, it is probable that many in disgust and some throat, would have withdrawn themselves and their capital from the island. Such considerations ought not, however, to have dashed with compromise an act professing to be founded on the immutable principles of justice, and I feel convinced that the enfranchised population would, even under these circumstances, have been industrious, peaceful, and prosperous.

The majority of English abolitionists hold the unsoundness of the principle of compensation. On this subject, however, I would observe, that from the general embarrassment and insolvency produced by slavery—a sum of money in the shape of a loan or a free gift, was necessary to effect the change in the most favorable manner. Even in Antigua the assistance thus afforded has contributed to the prosperity of the island which includes of course the well being of its predilection population.

MR. LLOYD'S REMARKS.

Wm. Lloyd, M. D. visited Demarara and Barbice in the autumn of 1836, and now pens a short summary of the facts he there acquired.

RELIGION.—Episcopalian, Presbyterian, and Roman Catholic, all well supported by the Government—the ministers have handsome incomes, and living, rent and tax-free. The Episcopalians have several schools, but the Presbyterians and Catholics are much behind on this head. There are two Methodist missionary chapels, but the most interesting mission is the independent chapel, which originally commenced under Mr. Wray, now in Berbice. The congregation have built a very handsome meeting house and infant school room, which is well attended, and the old chapel is a day school for boys. The only assistance the minister Kettles has, is freedom from taxes. As a general remark, embracing all the colonies, it may be said that the regularity, the good behavior, the neatness, the numerous attendance, the singing of the negro population at their respective places of worship, cannot be surpassed by any farther advanced civilized community, and as regards their good behavior, I never elsewhere saw it equalled. The ministers expect a regular attendance if six or nine miles distant, but members live twenty and twenty five miles off, and are frequently present—walking in the night to be there in time. This remark more particularly applies to Jamaica—I mention it here as connected with religion.

COMMERCE.—Very flourishing from the influx of money through the compensation, the rate being high here from the scarcity of hands. The planters received £40 for each strong man, whereas, in Antigua it was as low as £14. British. Great numbers of emigrants are brought to Demarara from Tortola, and some from the Danish islands—Tortola is British. The planters have an agent there, who, obtaining the negroes' consent, buys out their apprenticeship. Being nominally free, they enter into bonds to work so many years for certain wages and certain indulgences, the planter calculating what he can give, after having bought them their freedom. I believe the emigrants have been well treated, but owing to the change of climate, there had been some mortality. The apprentices had sent a messenger to inquire into this: he had not returned when I was there, and consequently some schooners which were waiting for their emigrants, were detained till the apprentices had satisfied themselves as to the treatment their masters had given them.

MAGISTRATES.—Every conscientious stipendiary was prosecuted, and one was prosecuted, through an error in the imperial act which says the owner or planter shall be

fined for such and such offences. In this case the owner was in England, and the overseer on the property brought his action against the magistrate. The suit was pending when I left. Wherever the apprentices were fairly treated, there was no complaint, and the planters congratulated themselves on the success of the apprenticeship, and hoped the British Parliament will not break faith with them, though they are daily and hourly acting contrary to the spirit of the imperial act, especially as regards the pregnant women, as also their nurses and indulgences, and yet the master exacting more from them than during slavery, having no interest in the children, and his interest in the mother terminating in 1840. His object is to obtain all he can in the intermediate time, the free children being dependent upon the mother for a maintenance and severe exertions being required from her by her master.

The consequence has been that there has been a great increase of mortality amongst the children, and a system of diabolical tyranny and hardship towards the poor women, but with all this, they are thankful for the abolition of slavery, because they cannot flog and expose at any overseer's caprice. The governor, Sir James Carmichael Smith is an upright man, and has consequently been the mark for a vindictive press.

BERBICE.—This settlement is under the same administration, and the religious establishments are similar—except that education is more neglected by the patronized churches. The Rev. Mr. Wray in some measure, makes amends. He is the oldest missionary in the West Indies, and commenced in Demerara. There, as in Berbice, there was no officiating minister of any denomination except one old Dutchman, who seldom officiated. The only relief brother Wray has had, has been up to this time, an exemption from taxes, but they are threatening prosecution to enforce him to pay, so that he has lived to see three churches of sects liberally supported and himself prosecuted for a few paltry pavers. Mr. Wray has recently built a large school room which is to be open to all denominations, and is thus endeavoring to recompense good for evil.

The most remarkable feature in Berbice is a colony of free blacks, living in a village called Owen-Winkel at the edge of the town. They were freed by government after taking the colony from the Dutch. Though much has been said against the Winkel negroes, it is acknowledged by competent judges that they are a pattern for any community, being the best tradesmen or artisans, and the young women are much respected from having conducted themselves honestly and uprightly as housekeepers. The barracks at Berbice were built from the plan of a Winkel carpenter, and they are said to be the best, or equal to any in the West Indies.

There have been, in Berbice, many instances of severe oppression towards the apprentices. One was thus:—A most trustworthy negro, Mungo, was desired from his worth, to be a driver. He said he would submit to the most humiliating employment rather than lord it over his brethren. It was his excellent character and conduct which induced his master to make him a driver of the gang. On his refusal, the stipendiary magistrate ordered him to be flogged—again refused—again flogged, and this to the fifth time. The stipendiary magistrate became so enraged, that he told Mungo he would have him flogged every time he was brought before him to the end of the apprenticeship. Soon after this threat, the magistrate was called to give an account of his stewardship by a sudden death.

There was a wholesale species of oppression in operation at Berbice—a planter bought a coffee estate, and removed the negroes, contrary to law, to his sugar estate where the negroes would have to walk three miles to the cane-field. The negroes had, however, refused to work and the case was *sub judice* when I left. Another case of oppression occurred at this time in the colony. A negro, Jupiter, with a withered arm and anchylosed elbow, was ordered to regular work with the gang. He was not able, and complained to the magistrate. The order to work was confirmed, and he was sent to gaol for disobedience. He could not do the work, and was again punished—at last he was ordered to leave the negro village, to live at the outside boundary of the estate, at what they call the Dam, which is no better than a swamp, and there to spend his life as a watchman, and never to be seen among his friends in the village. In these cases, and others hourly occurring, we see magistrates tyrannize over and oppress the apprentices.

BARBADOES.—You will have a report on this colony. I will just say, that the gaol at Bridgetown is a sink of misery. The prisoners crowded together by night, without a board to lie on. The tread wheel in vigorous operation—a driver with his cat behind it. When I saw it, the women were held on by men over a bar; some were so weak they lost the step, and could not regain it—all their weight was suspended by the arm. Their shins were broken by the wheel—their blood stained every step, and when the spell of ten minutes was up, and their arms were loosed, they fell as dead on the floor. After a while they rose, but their agony was intense from bruised shins, benumbed arms, and flogging. This occurred during one spell, but they have many of these spells to go through every day. It was literally a breaking on the wheel. Where all this is occurring, is under the same roof as the House of Assembly. The prisoners are confined in the vaults, and the members may see the tread-mill from the room they meet in.

On my way to Jamaica, I visited St. Thomas and St. Croix. Slavery in these islands, under the present Governor, has assumed a mild form—great attention being paid to the mothers, few stripes inflicted by the masters—two, I believe, is the limit. The residences of the slaves, are really cottages—their allowances liberal. At West End Saint Croix, they have no gaol but lodgings in the Fort for the penal gang. There is a judge who sits daily to hear complaints. At Bass End there is a gaol separate from the Fort. Slaves here are seldom disposed of to an individual they dislike, and have the privilege of fixing on a master, if there should be a wish, between themselves and their present master to separate. Little or no respect is paid to the Sabbath; all the stores are open, Sunday markets in full operation, and public whippings with tamarind twigs in the market-place. There are Moravian missionaries, who are much respected—no other sect is allowed. Education is now at a stand.

JAMAICA.—Of this island you will also have a report. It is an interesting spot for investigation, as there is every principle of good and bad at work. The exertions of the Baptist missionaries in education, &c., is remarkable, almost every chapel having its school, and some ministers having three stations, with schools attached, under their superintendence, and these established with very little help from home.

Another feature in Jamaica, is—the increasing persecution of conscientious colored magistrates. There were several appointed from Jamaica—they have been upright men not to be bought by the planters' sops, like too many of the English types. But the enmity against them is such that one, during our stay, confessed he believed his life was in imminent danger. One of the most talented men on the island is a colored stipendiary magistrate. The apprenticeship, then, as a whole, is nothing but slavery under another form. The ceasing of field flogging is its best feature, though the whip has been shamefully abused by the stripes. With this exception, it has been worse for the women than slavery, and their suffering, at least mental, have been increased manifold, and though every thing has conspired to weaken their attachment to their offspring. I have not heard of any charge being brought against them. In some places infant schools have been a great blessing, by taking charge of the children whilst the mothers were in the field. In no instances where the apprentices have been properly treated, have they failed in their duties to their masters as a body—there may have been individual delinquency. The great body of stipendiary magistrates have been scapegoats for the over-seers' tyranny; they have been mere tools in the planters' hands. The planter has put his bit into their mouths in the shape of dinners, lodgings, &c., and has led them as he listed. This has saved the stipe much exertion. If he is friendly with the planters, he can go his round, sleep at one, dine at another, and finish his circuit without returning home; whereas, if persecuted, he must return home, dinnerless, every night—distance, perhaps of twelve miles—and retrace great part of the way the following morning to resume his work at a neighboring estate. It is a most arduous office, and upwards of twenty have fallen a sacrifice in Jamaica. It is a continual pursuit after litigation under a boiling sun which few are equal to.

There is reasonable ground of apprehension, that the spirit of slavery is rife in the planters' minds, and that they will effect their object, after 1840, by vagrant laws. Already Barbadoes negroes cannot go to market without a pass from their master; and in Jamaica, they pass a law to seize in the market, sugar, molasses, coffee, rum, &c., if brought to market by apprentices. The

act was passed in the colony, but has been disallowed at home.

The system has worked, it is said, well, but this has been owing to the efforts of the missionaries, and the tractability of the negroes; for the House of Assembly and the planters, as a body, have done much to make the apprenticeship an era of confusion and anarchy. It is a stepping stone to something better, inasmuch as the principle of liberty has been sanctioned by the British Parliament and the Colonial Legislatures.

Abolition in the French Colonies.

The following petitions, says the editor of the *Emancipator*, were put into our hands by Joseph Sturge, of Birmingham, on his recent visit to this city, translated from the French.

MARTINIQUE.

Petition in the form of a Protestation, by the Abolitionists of African origin, against political renegades.

To the TWO CHAMBERS.

The freedom of color in Martinique, come forward with the greatest eagerness, to express to you their profound and sincere gratitude for the favor you have shown towards their petition for the abolition of slavery in the French colonies; for the French government cannot fail to be aware to what degree, and how surely their support may be relied on in the issue of so important a question, on which depend the tranquility of the colony; and the peace, harmony and union of its three castes.

Part from the consideration of humanity, the immediate emancipation of the colonies has become of urgent necessity; the discussions agitated in the bosom of colonial society have occupied all the attention of the blacks, and awakened in their hearts desires for the liberty enjoyed by their brethren in the English colonies, in the neighborhood of Martinique.

The freemen of color in Martinique, come forward with the greatest eagerness, to express to you their profound and sincere gratitude for the favor you have shown towards their petition for the abolition of slavery in the French colonies; for the French government cannot fail to be aware to what degree, and how surely their support may be relied on in the issue of so important a question, on which depend the tranquility of the colony; and the peace, harmony and union of its three castes.

Resolve, That the institution of slavery, as it exists in several of these United States, is a sin against God, of the first magnitude, and should be immediately abolished. A sin, 1st. Because it dismembers man from the lot his creator gave him in the scale of being, and reduces him to a level with the beasts of the field; 2d. Because it coercively restrains man from his obedience to the positive commands of God, by annihilating the institution of marriage; by denying him a knowledge of the laws of God, and the right of teaching them to his children, and children's children. Because it compels him, in many instances to violate the statute of Heaven in adulterous intercourse. It should be abolished because it is a sin, and sin should be immediately repented of and abandoned.

All of which is respectfully submitted,

A. R. SPEER,
ROBT. C. BRISBIN,
WM. F. HARRIS,

Committee.

A true extract from the minutes.

A. S. SPEER, Secretary.

Ecclesiastical Silence.

PRESBYTERIAN GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

June 8, 1837.

Anti-Slavery Memorials.

Dr. WITHERSPOON, from the committee of bills and ovens, reported that that committee had had a number of papers submitted to them from various Synods, churches and individuals, men and women, on the subject of slavery; and the committee had unanimously agreed, (with the exception of a single member,) to direct that they be returned to the House, and that he should move to lay the whole subject on the table.

The report was accepted, and the question being on laying the whole subject on the table.

Dr. BEMAN made some inquiries of the chairman, as to what had passed in the committee in regard to his having the right, whenever the report should be made, to state his objections to it; and also in regard to the chairman's agreeing with him in opinion that three of these papers, viz. two memorials on the anti-slavery side and one on the other side of the question, ought to be read.

The CHAIRMAN answering in the affirmative.

Dr. BEMAN inquired whether he was permitted to speak.

The MODERATOR said that a motion to lay on the table admitted of no debate.

Mr. JESSUP and Dr. PETERS called for the reading of one of the memorials, but the Moderator ruled the motion to be out of order, as the papers were not before the house.

After some further conversation, the question on laying

on the table was decided by yeas and nays, yeas 97, nays 28.

On the whole subject was laid on the table. Whereupon,

Mr. CLEVELAND gave notice of protest.—*New York Observer.*

From the Friend of Man.

Ecclesiastical Action.

The following have been furnished us by the politeness of Rev. John D. Lawyer of the Lutheran church. He remarks that they are important as being the first Anti-Slavery resolutions passed by that connection. The timely action of the Franckean Synod will be a matter of rejoicing to the friends of the oppressed. "The ministers of this body," says Mr. Lawyer, "are all abolitionists."

FRANCKEAN LUTHERAN SYNOD.

At a late session of this synod, held at Fordsburgh, in Montgomery county, on the 25th of May, 1837, the following resolutions were passed on the subject of American slavery:

Resolved, That slavery as it exists in the U. States, the holding in bondage, and buying and selling of human beings, is a sin in the sight of God, opposed to the spirit of the gospel, and a violation of the inalienable rights of man.

Resolved, That we do not deem it inexpedient for ecclesiastical bodies to interfere with the abolition of slavery, but that it is duty of all such bodies, of every evangelical denomination, to bear their decided testimony against the sin of slavery.

Resolved, That we have abundant cause for deep humility before God, that as a denomination, we are deeply involved in the sin of slavery, and that so many of our ministers practiced the crime, and so many others justify them in their iniquity.

Resolved, That we view the traffic in human beings as carried on in this country, and between ministers of the gospel, and members of churches, as revolting to humanity, and as repugnant to the laws of Christ, as ever was the foreign slave-trade.

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